The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule [illegible] Gold

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Ninth Year. No. 2 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, THURSDAY, JANUARY [illegible] 3c Per Copy, $1.00 Per Year

THE LIGHT

Written for the Christian Socialist by A. M. Kinney

Long the world has blindly stumbled
In the darkness of the night;
Long have men been vainly watching
For the first faint gleams of light
Heralding the glad millennial
Promised by God's Holy Word,
When mankind should stand unfettered,
Save by love for Christ, our Lord.

Men have prayed to God for freedom
From the shackles of the Beast,
And throughout their night of sorrow
Kept their faces towards the East;
Now, thank God, they see the Beacon
Lighting up the Eastern sky,
Shedding rays of Hope and Courage
Where the hosts of Labor lie.

Hear the sounding of the Trumpets
Calling men to join the Fight!
See the Blood-Red Banners waving!
Emblems of the Truth and Right.
Hear the smashing and the crashing
As the shackles break and fall!
Hear the War Cries, ever swelling
As the Wage-Slaves Heed the Call.

Shout Hosanna! All ye toilers,
For the night is almost past;
Though the blood-mists still enshroud you,
Yet the Day is breaking fast.
One great battle is before you
With the Victory in sight;
See! The Beast draws backward, frightened
At the brightness of the Light.

For the Light is Christ, our Savior,
Coming back into His Own;
All the powers of greed and darkness
Will be swiftly overthrown;
Then the Reign of Peace and Justice,
Long foretold by Prophets old,
With its Rule of Love and Gladness
Will replace the "Rule of Gold."

A DOUBLE BARREL REVOLUTIONIST

(Written for the Christian Socialist by Rev. James L. Smiley, Annapolis, Md.)

A hunter once started out with a double-barrel shotgun fully loaded. In the woods a bear viciously attacked him. The hunter fired one load into the bear, then reversed the gun and fought with the butt end. In the scrimmage the other load of shot killed the hunter himself.

In like manner, men sometimes fire off a noble sentiment, then immediately employ a 'butt end," to their own ruin.

This is pre-eminently true in religious attitude. A man will tell a clergyman, "Oh, yes, I believe in Christianity, but—— I don't think it necessary to be baptized"; or —— "I don't think it necessary to partake of Holy Communion"; or——,"I don't see the use of regularly attending church."

These qualifying clauses are butt-ends which spell immeasurable loss. And the same skeptical attitude is manifested toward Socialism. A man will acquiesce all along in a fair presentation of the subject, then he will conclude with "Oh, yes, I'm a Christian Socialist, but—."

The butt-end of his creed is some erroneous notion which neutralizes his otherwise lofty opinion. And again he puts heavy emphasis upon the adjective "Christian," as if to save himself from reproach. However, even thus far he has advanced one degree forward, in that he has passed beyond the puerile fear of the name "Socialist."

With congratulations for this much progress, let us now consider that popular error which holds that the prefix 'Christian' saves Socialism from reproach. The "reproach of Christ" has always been the portion of world-uprighters, ever since Moses' revolution in Egypt. Hence Christians, of all people, should be the last to shun it.

Of course that popular fallacy which associates Socialism with atheism, explains the attitude of some conscientious souls, but no intelligent person can afford to entertain this error. Socialism is purely an economic movement, and Christian Socialism is the whole of scientific Socialism plus Christianity.

There isn't the slightest antagonism. Rather they have parallel aims. In their oneness of purpose, they may be compared to our illustration—the double-barrel shotgun. To turn one against the other, defeats both.

Compare these parallel aims. Socialism, on the economic side, proposes to establish universal justice in a world now upside down in financial despotism. This, of course, can only be effected by revolution. Without violence, but by an educated electorate, it can readily be accomplished through an honest ballot.

In like manner Socialism, on the Christian side, proposes to make the name of Jesus a living force instead of a mere theological term.

The Christian church today, generally speaking, is as far from Jesus in practical teaching as Jerusalem was from Jehovah in the days of Isaiah. Hence the wide-spread apathy. The dynamic life of Christ is an unknown quantity to many so-called Christians. For this reason, Christian Socialists aim at nothing short of a revolution in the church, a revolution at once consecrated, uncompromising, constructive.

To be a **Christian** Socialist then, does not mean to be a mere sentimentalist; it means, on the contrary, to be a **double-barrel revolutionist**. This demands heroic determination which chooses rather the reproach of Christ than all the riches and treasures of Egypt. But "who is sufficient for these things?" Let every one who has a drop of chivalric blood in his veins, one spark of celestial fire in his bosom, respond to the divine, call through Christian Socialism and say, **"Here am I, send me."**

A LITTLE CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM

By Rev. Sam Atkinson, of Buffalo, N. Y.

Some years ago I was connected with a large institutional church in the city of Manchester, England. A part of our plan was to satisfy the physical needs of the people before we preached to them of diviner things. In reading my New Testament I had been impressed with the fact that Jesus never spoke of spiritual matters until he had first satisfied a physical want.

Our work was amongst the very poorest in the great "Cottonopolis." Repeatedly, fallen women would assure me that they could find no other means of earning a living. Drunken men would tell me that if they could afford other pleasures they would forsake the saloons. "Jail-birds" justified their roguery, and gamblers made themselves believe the life they lived was justifiable as the result of economic conditions.

I began to realize the hollow mockery of offering a future heaven to those to whom this life was a hell. It was no use telling the man or woman who was starving that God would balance good and evil "on the other side of death." If God was able in another sphere to execute righteous judgment, why could He not do it here and now? Economic determinism, though it seemed to savor of Calvanism, became an indisputable fact.

One morning I had a hurry call to visit a home in the poorest section of the city in which an epidemic was laying the family low. Want was depicted upon the faces of the little children, and the twelve-year-old girl who met me at the door looked little better than a living skeleton. She instructed me to pass upstairs into the bedroom where "daddy and mammy" lay. To my horror, the dead body of a young girl lay between the parents, who were too sick and weak to raise themselves or to call help. With my own hands I took that body from the bed, and called kind-hearted neighbors to prepare it for burial. All this in a land which boasts of its Christian civilization.

Then I realized that if our vaunted Christianity is responsible for our civilization, it is also responsible for prostitution, disease and poverty. We are still branded with the "seal of Cain," and are repeatedly condoning our inactivities with the old question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

After attending to the needs of these people, I omitted the customary prayer, but as I took leave of the family, the bony little creature who had opened the door for me said, "Mr. Atkinson, I heard you preach at the Harvest Festival on 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof.' If that is true, how is it that John Rylands, daddy's 'boss' has so much, while my daddy, who is willing to work, has nothing at all?"

"The earth is the Lord's," only another way of saying it is the people's. At first faith wavered—**A GOD SO UNJUST SEEMED SCARCELY WORTH PRAYING TO.** But is it **GOD'S** fault? Have we not wandered from His original purpose? From that moment I began a constant and diligent search of the scriptures. The Hebrew Democracy became apparent. Deuteronomy 24 and 6 was a revelation to me. The Bible might be applied to modern conditions. **Christianity and Churchianity were forever separated.** From the moment that wan little child asked her question I found no peace until **in SOCIALISM I saw CHRISTIANITY APPLIED.**

Like an "angel of light," Socialism arises above the world today, and, to the weary broken backed toilers, and to the willing workers who are still more weary with the search for toil that is denied them, it takes the words of Jesus from His lips and cries, "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."

FREEZING PEOPLE

Social Responsibility for Wholesale Winter Suffering

(Editorial)

In all the large cities of the North, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Omaha, Kansas City, Denver, and even St. Louis, Louisville and Cincinnati, besides numberless smaller cities, the extreme cold of January and February means indescribable suffering to the poor. In Chicago the estimate of the Tribune is that 50 per cent, that is, **more than a million of people in the one city**, are made very uncomfortable, hundreds of thousands of them miserable, by the cold from which they are not sufficiently protected. They suffer, they struggle, they sicken, they die for lack of proper houses, clothing, fuel and food. Every day during this extreme weather people are actually freezing to death—here a child, there an aged man; here a slaving, ill-fed woman, there a poor homeless waif of the streets, or a shelterless man who would work if he could get a job. It is so in every large city.

Boards of Charity—the glory and the shame of our foolish, un-Christian system—raise all the money and collect all the food and old clothes they can to rescue these perishing ones; private efforts of relief by kind-hearted people accomplish much good; and yet, every year the number of the miserable, hopeless ones increases at a rate that is utterly heartbreaking and discouraging.

The head of the Associated Charities of Chicago estimates that there are now at least 150,000 unemployed men in Chicago who would work at anything to make a living, and that the number will be much larger as the freezing new year grows older.

One of the bread lines, where men wait shivering in the icy blast for hours for their turn to get a third of a loaf of stale bread and a cup of hot coffee—their only sustenance for twenty-four hours, already contains over nine hundred men nightly. They do not stand there shaking for pleasure. And when they have received their scanty food, these men have nowhere to sleep. Most of them must "carry the banner," that is, walk all night to keep from freezing.

And these men, say the generous ones who furnish the bread and coffee, are not worthless bums, but men who have worked in the timber or at railroad building, etc., while work could be had. The wages, however, are so low, the company stores charge so much for what they must buy, and the car-fare to and fro is so expensive that their money gives out before the winter is half over. As long as possible they pay their way at cheap lodging houses, where thousands are able to live all winter in a beastly environment and with very few human conveniences, yet free from actual hunger and cold. Yet multitudes can not support themselves even thus upon the small savings of the summer, so they must shelter in saloons and public refuges as best they can and frequent the "bread line" at last, and, during several hours of every night walk, walk, walk in the icy blasts, to keep from freezing. Very few have overcoats, and their misery is beyond description.

Some of these men have families in other cities where they have worked all summer to support them on the poor wages received; but when the work shut down and their savings were spent, they "deserted their families" because the local charity boards are unwilling to support women and children where there is an ablebodied man. For this reason—to enable their impoverished families to keep from starving by the doles of a too inquisitive charity, thousands of men "desert" their homes every winter. Sometimes they return, sometimes they never return because of shame and despair. Thus poverty breaks up many "homes" each year.

Saloon Benefactions

The writer is a prohibitionist, never having voted any other ticket till he voted for Socialism in 1900; yet, in spite of the multiplied evils of the capitalistic saloons, he is compelled to admit their incalculable service to homeless men during the winter. For five cents a hungry man may get a glass of stimulating beer and a "free lunch" besides, such as would cost from ten to twenty-five cents at a restaurant; and the saloons permit the poor fellows to remain by the scores and in the aggregate by the thousands until closing time in the shelter of their well-warmed rooms. The churches may damn the saloons until doomsday in vain. unless they provide plenty of places where hungry, freezing men may refresh themselves and find shelter from the wintry blasts during the long nights of the frigid season.

What Must Be Done

It has been demonstrated completely in every large city of the land that the present method of relieving the distress of poverty by private and associated charities is a gigantic and frightful failure. Success can never be achieved that way.

Already the key to the situation has been found in the method by which municipal governments have attacked the problems of summer poverty. Instead of leaving the millions of the poor to swelter, suffocate and die of poisonous air in the impossible tenements and baking streets of the cities, parks and playgrounds, large and small, have been provided at public expense where the poor find relief by the scores of thousands every summer day and night. **Such results could never be accomplished by private charity.**

The city government must attack the problem of winter poverty in the same general manner; for as private or associated "charities" could never furnish the free parks and the free ice at home for the increasing multitudes of poor, neither can such methods accomplish the wholesale relief needed to prevent unspeakable suffering and numberless deaths from cold and starvation in the winter.

Let municipal lodging houses be multiplied until there is room for all who need them. Let work be provided by the city—a few hours per day at least—for every one able to work for his or her support.

Let fuel and food and clothes be provided at the homes of all families who really need—with the opportunity for every ablebodied person to earn what they get by labor.

In other words, **the city must undertake to give work and support to the poor on such a scale as will fully meet the needs of long suffering society.**

As to private "charity," throw it into the dust heap of ancient superstitions and implements of torture and end its injustice and insult forever.

Let those who now ease their pirate consciences by giving a few dollars or a few thousands of their stolen wealth **to "charity" each year** PAY THEIR JUST SHARE OF TAXES **at the rate the poor have to pay and there will be plenty of money to accomplish all we have said.**

The city itself must undertake all general relief work if it is ever to be creditably achieved, and it must spend millions where only thousands are now spent.

Poverty is not often caused by idleness, and comparatively seldom by drunkenness. IT IS CAUSED BY THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN NOT GETTING THE WEALTH THEY PRODUCE. The low wages they receive and the high prices they must pay leaves them hopeless, to be ground between these two relentless millstones. IT IS OUR SOSIAL SYSTEM THAT IS TO BLAME. Therefore society as such—not private charity—must come to the relief of the suffering poor. **And when society itself, through its channels of government, undertakes the task all the difficulties will soon melt away. Social forces are invincible.**

The Ultimate Need

How incredible it would seem to a man from a really wise and happy world to hear of the suffering of millions, hundreds of millions of earth's children from poverty in the midst of exhaustless natural resources! If heavenly angels ever visit our wicked, suffering world, they must look upon it as one vast madhouse. Even the capitalist editors—the last persons, next to the preachers to the rich churches, who dare tell the truth—in the midst of the horrible agony of the poor during this below zero weather, are beginning to express the hope that a time may come when no man, woman or child will be permitted to die of want. (Brothers, it is worse to **live** in want year after year!)

The plan of Socialism is to have Society—the people of the nation—run its own industries, commerce, etc., for its own welfare; not to permit a few monstrously selfish men to monopolize natural resources and means of transportation and corner the markets or sell watered stock to the impoverishment of the masses and the enrichment of the "favored" few.

There is wealth enough, abundant wealth, for all when earth's riches and opportunities are fairly and wisely managed. But the industrial and commercial **policing** of the world's wealth can never safely be left in private hands. THE NATION MUST OWN THE WEALTH OF THE LAND FOR THE USE OF ITS OWN PEOPLE—ALL OF ITS OWN PEOPLE. Then poverty will be banished forever—there will not be a hungry, cold or neglected man, woman or child between the two oceans; then every one will not only have plenty of physical comforts, but "LIFE MORE ABUNDANT," the fullest opportunity for intellectual, social and spiritual development.

AND THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY COULD HAVE ALL THIS RELIEF FROM WOE AND ALL THIS PLENTY AND JOY WITHIN A VERY FEW YEARS IF THEY WOULD VOTE FOR IT. Brothers and sisters, it is SENSELESS, INSANE, CRIMINAL to permit this great suffering to go on when WE CAN STOP IT ALL—and when we all want it all stopped! In the name of God and humanity, WAKE UP.

YOU MUST USE YOUR MONEY, YOUR LABOR, YOUR VOICE, YOUR VOTE TO REVOLUTIONIZE OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM OR THE AGONY AND BLOOD OF THESE SUFFERING, DYING PEOPLE IS UPON YOUR SOUL AND YOU WILL HAVE TO SUFFER IMMEASURABLY TO ATONE FOR YOUR IGNORANCE, GREED, or NEGLECT.

These hunger cries must be stopped all over the earth. This freezing, disease and dying must end—**and you must end it**—or **your** profession of religion, **your** churches, **your** Bible and **your** God are not worth the notice of a needy world. No man with an ounce of real brains will believe your smirking promises of "riches in glory" **while you neglect justice here.** If your religion is of any real use it must demonstrate its worth in the most practical ways **here and now.** And it is up to the people of the United States to declare **by deeds**—and that verv soon—whether "Christianity" so-called shall perish like the forgotten cults of ancient Babylon, or PROVE its power to "save the world" from misery and injustice.

The preacher who does not **often** hold before his hearers the suffering and death of the poor and show how society—especially "Christian" society, is responsible BECAUSE IT CAN EASILY PREVENT IT, is no representative of Christ. His "calling" is of the Devil, Mammon, whom he serves. Above all things, the real preacher of Christ will plead for the poor—not mainly for "charity" to them, but for **Justice.**

INJUSTICE IS THE GREATEST "SIN," THE GREATEST "CRIME," AND IT IS FOOLISH TO TALK OF "SALVATION" WITHOUT SOCIAL JUSTICE. Socialism is God's way of applying the Gospel of Christ to practical human affairs. It will Christianize the Churches and all Christendom and **save religion while saving mankind from want and woe.** A religion of mere sentiment is of no use in a world of suffering. Real religious work is to save the world from its injustice and woe **here** and **now.** Get busy.

TWO
SUBSCRIPTIONS
FOR THE
—PRICE OF—
ONE
OFFER REMAINS GOOD
SEE FULL ANNOUNCEMENTS IN LAST WEEK'S ISSUE, PAGE 3

Thos. J. Morgan Expelled

Cook County Delegate Committee Completes Its Work of Punishing Those Who Exposed Barnes

[To thousands of new readers we must explain that the incident referred to below is a point of culmination to the exposure of conditions in the national office some time ago under the regime of a former National Secretary of the Socialist party, named Barnes, who was deposed from office because of immorality. In his place was appointed (and afterwards elected by party referendum with an overwhelming majority) the present National Secretary, John M. Work, against whose sobriety and purity of character there has been no breath of suspicion. The National Executive Committee which sustained Barnes at first and was at last forced under protest to let him out, has been revolutionized in the election just held. Only three out of seven were re-elected, and only one of them by a majority of those voting. The rank and file of the Socialist party are clean, earnest, self-sacrificing people with the highest ideals, and when they generally learn of anything wrong they at once strive to right it. Yet the Socialists do not claim to be better than other folks; and sometimes our officials forfeit the respect and support of the party at large. Then, by means of our party referendums, we are able to "clean house" and elect a new set of party officials. **The Socialist party is the only one in America that elects its state and national committees and officials by referendum vote of the rank and file.** We are very proud of the actions of the party membership at large since the Barnes case came up. It has proven its worthiness to manage its own affairs and to represent the American social revolution. It is by far the cleanest and most trustworthy party in this country. And as the members increase in number and become better informed about party affairs they will doubtless, by means of the referendum, save this party from the moral decay and treason to the members at large that have ruined the capitalist parties one after the other. **With complete direct legislation actually in operation in the management of party affairs, the chance of self-seekers and corrupt men obtaining or keeping control long is very small.** The moral stamina and revolutionary loyalty of our officials are constantly renewed from the fresh, strong spring of the rank and file. No clearer proof of this is possible than is furnished by the revolution that has occurred in the official life of the party the past year. **This affords the greatest encouragement for people of good character and high ideals to join the party.** Come in and make it still better and stronger by your help in its glorious work.

As Barnes had been prominent in the Chicago movement for several years, it was natural that such as he would dominate a clique in the local; and that clique has succeeded so far in keeping the truth about the Barnes case and the other cases growing out of it from being printed in the various papers of the Chicago party. For this reason—their being kept in the dark and utterly deceived—the Chicago comrades in general have not yet arisen to the defense of Morgan and Carr, the editors that published the charges against Barnes. But the Chicago comrades will do their part as the truth is presented to them.

We are sorry to print these matters, but publicity is the only cure for such cases. The comrades must learn the truth before they can act. And we would not for worlds be so cowardly or so base as to desert the case nor fail do what we can to counteract the foul injustice that has been dealt brave old Comrade Morgan by the Barnes clique. For his sake, and especially for the honor of the Socialist party upon whose purity and strength the Socialist movement at present so much depends, we must present these protests.]

"Blessed are they who are persecuted for righteous sake," said Jesus; and there is very little doubt that this benediction belongs upon the head of the gray-haired veteran of the Chicago Socialist movement, Thos. J. Morgan. Let not the comrades throughout the country think, because the Barnes machine in Chicago has been able to deceive a bare majority of the Delegate Committee for the time being and cause that Committee to expel Morgan by a vote of 40 out of 79 present on roll call—five of whom did not vote though some of them were instructed by their branch to vote for Morgan's acquittal—that Morgan is condemned by the Socialists of Chicago in general, or even by a majority of the dues-paying members of the party here.

Even though his efforts may have been at times mistaken, he was evidently sincere and did the party untold good.

Comrade Morgan made a magnificent fight, taking his own time; and the record of his speeches, which he expects to print after a while, will be well worth the attention of every student of the party work. Twenty-one sessions of the Grievance Committee were held during this "trial," and the hall was generally filled—often packed—to hear Morgan's defense of his criticisms of party "leaders" and officials. In order to reduce the crowd, a rule was made that no one but those who had their party cards with them should be admitted. Yet still they came, and often cheered Morgan's speeches as if they were in a political campaign.

In reading the report of the Grievance Committee it must not be forgotten that three out of the four were members of the committee that "tried" Comrade Carr on substantially the same charges. A committee of only four on a case so important to the party as Morgan's, and three of them already committed in advance by their decision in the Carr case to convict him! Also note that the one new member of the committee, Frank Keegan, who heard the whole trial, apparently without any cotton in his ears, returned an emphatic verdict of "not guilty." Bravo, Comrade Keegan. It took courage to stand firm against the influence that demanded Morgan as a victim on the altar of machine rule.

We give this matter space because it is of vital consequence to the movement. Unless crimes like this against loyal and heroic party members can be stopped, there is small hope of the Socialist party ever making good in actual political administration.

We print the full report of the Grievance Committee, which was adopted by the Delegate Committee in a vote of 40 to 34—five not voting. The report of the Committee is in eight point type, our comments in ten point:

To the Cook County Delegate Committee of the Socialist Party:

In the case of the Seventh Ward vs. Comrade Thomas J. Morgan, the Grievance Committee submits the following report and recommendation:

The 7th Ward charged:

"That Comrade T. J. Morgan, through the medium of his privately owned paper, known as the Provoker, which is not a Socialist propaganda paper, carried on a continuous campaign of villification, slander and misrepresentation against a large number of active party members and officials, thus bringing discredit upon our entire movement."

The contention of the 7th Ward was:

"If Comrade T. J. Morgan had a grievance against some other party member he should have presented the matter to his local in the proper form instead of circulating unsubstantiated charges among the general public."

The committee sat in twenty-one full sessions, an aggregate of sixty hours, hearing the evidence on both sides, allowing Comrade Morgan the greatest scope in the presentation of his defense. From the evidence submitted we find that there was published in the Provoker many statements of villification, slander and misrepresentation against a large number of party members and officials.

Comrade Morgan submits in his findings that he had good grounds to believe, and did believe, that matters published in the Provoker were true, and that he published the same with good motives and for justifiable ends.

In support of this contention he urges:

"That it is not incumbent on a member of the Socialist Party to absolutely verify every report or representation before publication; that publication without such verification does not subject him to the peril of expulsion, even though it turn out that such matters when published are libelous."

The committee does not agree with Comrade Morgan in such argument.

In other words, a Committee of the Party shall decide whether the contents of a paper are true or false—**on their own authority,** and suppress the paper or expel the editor who does not please them? This is **Russian bureaucracy,** not democracy. **If the matters published are considered libelous, why not let the injured parties appeal to the civil courts** where they can at least have the benefit of a jury that is not picked and packed in advance in favor of one side? In a civil court each side may challenge the jury, with some hope of getting one that is approximately fair.

According to Comrade Morgan's evidence he was a prominent and active member of the Socialist movement years before many of those who have become of late years prominent members of the Socialist Party had left their old political persuasions.

Thus, we contend that with all these years of experience and knowledge of Party practice and discipline he knew full well that the right course to take was to place before his Ward Branch any grievance against comrades, be they high officials or otherwise.

Further: Comrade Morgan states:

"That as to any undue harshness in criticism, if any, there were provocations provoking the publication which excuse the same."

The committee desires to state that the right to criticise is not denied any member of the Party, for each member has a right to his individual opinion, yet for the welfare of the cause, Party discipline must be observed and a line of demarcation must be drawn between individual opinion and the expressed opinion and criticism of an editor through a privately owned publication.

Over and over it has been made clear to this Committee and the other committees concerned in the Barnes case that these criticisms were not directed against Barnes and the rest as **members** of the party but as **officials** and **leaders** thereof. It would be insanely outrageous to seek the expulsion from the party of every one that should be criticised. Every branch would be in a constant turmoil and the party would fall to pieces if that policy were pursued.

It seems that a party member may **privately** express a criticism, but he must not **publish** it for fear the rank and file will "get wise" to the wrong doing of its "leaders"; and if it is printed it must not be put into a "privately owned paper"—because the "leaders" control the "party owned press" and no one can get anything into it unless they approve. (That's why not one "official" party paper has been willing or dared to print both sides of the Barnes case. That's why the protests of the 33rd Ward, the 31st Ward, the Scandinavian Branch No. 1, and scores of other Branches over the country have never appeared in the socalled party press whose space is controlled by the very officials to be criticised.) The most hypocritical or idiotic idea that the machine tries to ram down the throats of the comrades is the scheme of a "party owned press" to be controlled by the officials only. God forbid. (And the national convention has repeatedly refused to sanction a party owned press.)

It is contemptible cowardice or direct treason to the Socialist movement for any editor to accept the vicious, undemocratic "line of demarkation" laid down by this Grievance Committee which is but a tool in the hands of other men.

The Christian Socialist abhors and will forever defy such an infamous "line of demarkation." When "party discipline" becomes a mere pretense to cover up or defend the offenses of foolish, corrupt or traitorous officials and self-seeking "leaders," then it is time for all self-respecting members to arise and smash such hypocritical "party discipline" to atoms. And, thank God, they are doing so, as every intelligent person can see by the last party election returns and the recent referendum votes.

As regards the plea of provocation, we do not find, from the evidence submitted, any provocation which should cause the publication of the following, which appeared in No. 9, Vol. 3, of the Provoker:

"Gaylord Wilshire (by means of his 'Scoialist magazine), Berger, Untermann, Wanhope, Goebel and other members of the national Socialists got $500,000 from Socialist suckers for Bishop Creek stock."

Comrade Morgan, in his defense, claims in the printing of the foregoing sentence there appeared a typographical error.

If such was the case, why did not Comrade Morgan rectify the error in the following number of the Provoker? When questioned by the committee, Comrade Morgan answered that he troubled not, and knew nothing of pronunciation and parenthesis.

The typographical error referred to lies in placing the second parenthesis after the word "magazine" instead of after the word "Socialists"—a slight mark that old eyes might easily miss.

One of the biggest and most scandalous steals of its kind ever known, considering the small strength of the American Socialist movement at the time, was the various Wilshire Mining Stock sales. Morgan was not saying that Berger, as others did, got personal gain out of it; but he did condemn all members of the N. E. C. for not exposing and branding the robbery of the comrades, and he did raise the question of whether the strange and injurious silence of the N. E. C.—**when they should have roared a warning to all the movement**—was because of money Wilshire "gave" or "loaned" to certain "party owned papers" which "needed the money." Morgan probably made some mistakes in detail on this matter; but in the main he was right—and that's what makes Rome howl. The party officials in general ought to have been against the Wilshire graft and all the party papers should have refused to advertise his stock schemes as the **Christian Socialist** refused time and again, and also the Social Democratic Herald. By the way, what proof has the Committee that Morgan was not correct in his suspicions?

From the evidence submitted we do not find any provocation which should cause the publication of the following, which appeared in No. 6, Vol. 3, of the Provoker:

"Germer (Comrade Adolf Germer) sat within whispering distance of the Provoker for four days as silent as a sphinx. He carried a book which the Provoker at first thought was a work on Socialism, but discovered it was the last official report of the National Civic Federation. Up to the moment of this discovery the Provoker wondered whether Germer would support the Berger-Gompers policy of exclusion or stand up for Socialism. **Temptation.** The Lure of the National Civic Federation upon ambitious labor leaders, is well known to the Provoker, hence it was not difficult for him to imagine his (its) influence on Germer."

Comrade Morgan did not attempt to justify such statements. The intent in publishing same is obvious.

Comrades, read the above over again, to get a full view of how silly it is and **how monstrous for a man to be expelled from the party for expressing such an opinion.** Supposing that Morgan was wholly mistaken about Germer's attitude (as we are inclined to think he was), has there not been sufficient reason to distrust the very appearance of connivance with the Civic Federation? And should an old veteran Socialist comrade be **executed,** so far as the party is concerned, for making a mistake like that, if it was a mistake, **out of zeal for the real Socialist cause?** For shame. When the jury has made up its mind in advance of the trial and **declared itself,** a very slim pretext is required for condemning 'the prisoner at the bar."

Again: From the evidence submitted we do not find any provocation which should cause the publication of the following, which appeared in No. 4, Vol. 2, of the Provoker:

"The Wisconsin state secretary, however, notifies me that the Wisconsin officials have a fixed rule forbidding the giving of a list of their locals to anyone.

"In some future issue of the Provoker I shall connect the exclusiveness of the state committee with their partnership with Walter Thomas Mills in direct financial raids upon the locals of other states."

We desire to state that Comrade Morgan did not justify the insinuation appearing in the last paragraph of the foregoing, nor yet did he show any cause for the unwarranted threat therein.

The refusal of the Wisconsin organization to grant lists of its branch secretaries, even to the National Secretary, is notorious; and the wrangling over the attempt of Wisconsin comrades to date Mills in Texas (and elsewhere) against the will of the state office there is notorious. **If such an attempt had been made in Wisconsin there would have been a volcanic eruption.** The chances are a thousand to one that the Grievance Committee knew of these matters from the party bulletins, and that Morgan absolutely "made good" on the point. But suppose he had not? What kind of a thing is this Socialist party of Chicago, any way? Dare not a man hold up his side of an argument and express his opinion upon a question that fills the party bulletins with vigorous and picturesque dispute for months? Oh, fie. What will happen to this little Cook County ring when the comrades of the county in general find out its true character and caliber will be—official extinction.

Again: 'From the evidence submitted we do not find any provocation which should cause the publication of the following, which appeared in No. 8, Vol. 3, of the Provoker:

"Berger-Brisbane, January 20th, 1911.—The Provoker published the fact that the national executive committee of the Socialist Party held a political conference with Brisbane, Congressman Hearst's cheif political adviser and editor-in-chief of his capitalist papers: Berger's weekly Social-Democratic Herald, Nov. 12th, 1911, says: "The new Socialist building in Milwaukee is to be named Brisbane Hall! Why this connection with a professional Democrat?"

In the foregoing, we desire to state Comrade Morgan published a misrepresentation of facts. "Brisbane Hall" was not named in honor of Arthur Brisbane, but in honor of Albert Brisbane, a pioneer in the utopian Socialist movement of America. Also the N. E. C. did not meet, nor yet did they hold a political conference with Brisbane, Hearst's editorial chief.

Berger does not deny his meeting with Hearst's editor, nor that other members of the N. E. C. were present; though all were not there, and it appears that there was no full or regular "meeting" of the N. E. C. with Brisbane as Morgan supposed. He got news of the conference, heard the Social Democratic Headquarters at Milwaukee was to be named Brisbane Hall after Arthur Brisbane's father, according to report, largely because Arthur Brisbane gave some thousands of dollars to help build the hall. And Morgan, fearing the evil effects of possible "fusion" of some sort with Hearst's editor, fired in. Perhaps Morgan's guess was a mile off; but should he be banished from the party for expressing his fears? By the way, if Berger wants the truth known, why does he not state whether Brisbane, the Democratic editor, did give money to help build Brisbane Hall, how much, and on what terms? Instead of trying to break old Tommy Morgan's heart with persecution, why not oppose the simple truth to his very natural mistakes? The circumstances do look suspicious; but we, understanding something of Arthur Brisbane's position, believe they can all be honorably explained. It is self-evident, however, that the thing cannot be hushed up by trying to destroy the loyal old hero Thos. J. Morgan; for though he may be often mistaken, and sometimes even fanatical, as we all are, he gives **proof of more real loyalty to Socialism than a** thousand place seekers who malign him. And as we would defend an accused union man or Socialist before a capitalist court, so we rejoice in the honor to defend this worthy old Socialist warrior who has evidently been victimized by a selfish and cruel clique in the party local.

Again, we do not find from any evidence submitted any provocation which should cause the publication of the following, which appeared in No. 13, Vol. 3, of the Provoker:

"Barnes' Juggle of Party Funds.—In 1898 the incompetence of the auditors selected by the N. E. C. forced the engagement of an expert to audit the accounts of the national office. Since then Barney Berlyn has been chosen as a less dangerous auditor to pass on Barnes' accounts. Morgan warns party members that reports are current that Hunter's charges for his expenses as committeeman and Barnes' accounts need to be looked into with sharper eyes than those of Barney Berlyn's."

We desire to state that the insinuations in the last quotation are malicious, especially in regard to Comrade Berlyn.

Whether Berlyn is "all right" or not, his aged eyes and his utter inexperience in and unfitness for expert auditing make Morgan's comment perfectly reasonable.

Why did the "investigating committee" refuse to allow Brower to "show" them the proofs of his charges of mismanagement in the national office and, instead, "investigate" under the particular guidance of the two women accused with Barnes of immorality—as the writer himself saw? What about the drunk-bill of the Linnville fellow who called out his "turkey buzzard" to improve the atmosphere about the national office and defend Barnes? Was not that bill—and others as inexcusable—paid out of the national party treasury? **There ought to be a thorough examination of the national office books for the past five years, not merely to see if the two sides of the ledger balance, but to see where the money went to in such quantities and why.**

To the foregoing we could add the inexcusable misquotation of Hillquit, and much more, which was published in the Provoker, and submitted to us by Comrade Stedman on behalf of the Seventh Ward, and also by Comrade Morgan. Said matter, from evidence submitted, was published without provocation.

Why did not the Committee quote the famous "slander" on Hillquit referred to—wherein the Provoker printed the three letter word "and" for the three letter word "for," making Hillquit throw aside "revolutionary phrases and revolutionary action," instead of "for revolutionary action?" Because the Committee knew that any newspaper man, publisher or printer would have sworn, as an expert witness, that such mistakes in printing are absolutely unavoidable. The proofs of the **Christian Socialist** are read from four to six times, yet every issue contains typographical errors. Any good proofreader will find errors in every paper and book of considerable size published. And the brutal, infamous attempt to ruin old Comrade Morgan and fill his last days with grief because his inexperience as a proofreader and his ageing eyes allowed a "for" to be printed "and" deserves unlimited contempt and condemnation. The chances are that he read it "and" in the first place by mistake and never got the idea out of his head; while the printer's proofreader was probably too careless about comparing the copy. Such things happen every day. Let's not murder old Comrade Morgan for that.

We find that Comrade Morgan was not justified in publishing broadcast such unproved charges and slanders on the party organization or its members, as such a policy is contrary to the best interests of the Socialist Party and can only end in dissension and disruption.

To substantiate such finding, we state that in our opinion the attacks, such as appeared in the Provoker, on prominent officials and members, constitute an attack upon the party organization and not upon such officials and members as individuals.

Through the publication of such villifications, slanders and misrepresentations, we are of the opinion that Comrade Morgan has placed in the hands of the capitalist parties and press of this country such incalculable advantages which will be used by them in the coming campaigns to the detriment of the Socialist Party.

Therefore, notwithstanding Comrade Morgan's and Comrade Main's arguments, we are of the opinion that Comrade Thomas J. Morgan has violated section 7, article 9, of the Cook County constitution of the Socialist Party.

Therefore, because of such violation, we recommend that Comrade Thomas J. Morgan be expelled from the Socialist Party.

We, the Grievance Committee, desire to recommend to the delegate committee that a referendum be taken in Cook County immediately on the decision of the delegate committee in this case.

(Signed)

Jos. L. Naylor, 35th Ward
I. Goldstein, 15th Ward,
John C. Flora, 7th Ward.

Minority Report

By Mr. Frank Keegan,

A member of the Maywood and Melrose Park branch.

Being a member of the Grievance Committee at the time Thomas J. Morgan was tried for violating certain sections of the constitution of the Socialist Party, and being at every meeting of that trial, in my judgment he is not guilty of any one of the sections so stated, and I recommend that he be exonerated.

(Signed) Frank Keegan.

The "opinion" of the Committee is not law in the party any more than Morgan's opinion. It was "opinion" made out of advanced prejudices and not evidence that caused this Committee to report as it did in both the Carr and Morgan cases.

As a proof of the remarkably high sense of justice and intelligence of the majority of three of this Grievance Committee, they were seen out feasting with the attorneys against Morgan the same night that the case closed and before the verdict had been made out. (But the noble three doubtless knew then what it would be.) They also hobnobbed with Barnes and his attorneys and questionable friends during the interims of the Carr trial—and "what is the constitution"—or Justice—"between friends?" No capitalist jury would be permitted to so expose themselves to the influence of either side.

In Conclusion

Comrades, in all candor, if Morgan had done and said all that this Committee charges, is it a matter of party trial and expulsion? No. The party is not a secret society, nor a royal bureaucracy, that criticisms dare not be made or published. Its light would die of its own fumes if it were covered and suppressed like the ring back of this Committee would have it.

If a man must think and walk and talk and write to please a clique of selfish, foolish fellows, who have been feeding at the party crib or enjoying its official prestige and power too long, in order to remain a member of the party, then none but the smallest, most ignorant, or meanest minds would ever consent to join.

But NO. The comrades of the nation are speaking in no uncertain tones; the movement is filling up with larger minded, nobler men; the party is bursting out of its binding swaddling clothes and growing to glorious manhood. There will always be disputes, but so-called "party dicipline" as a club for narrow-minded bigots and selfish scoundrels will soon be relegated to the rear; higher standards of character and intelligence in officials, "leaders" and candidates will be demanded constantly; and, profiting by the mistakes of the past, the party will speedily gain in numbers, glory and power.

Lift up your head, stand erect and look all people in the face; lift up your mind and dare to think even what the boss forbids; lift up your voice and speak boldly what you believe should be said; lift up your pen and write the truth whatever opposition it may arouse. Only so can we have a party worth belonging to—and a party composed of such men and women will be invincible. On to victory.

Faithful "Old" 33d Ward Comrades

Protest Against Morgan's Expulsion

[Will the "party owned paper" that printed the report of the Grievance Committee on the Morgan case be fair enough to print this official protest from the (old) 33d Ward members? **We have been printing both sides all along. Comrades, do you know of any other paper that has printed both sides?** Is any other course fair, to the party itself?]

We, the following members of the Socialist Party, submit the following statement:

At the continued session of the Cook County Delegate Committee, Thomas J. Morgan was expelled from the Socialist Party by a vote of 40 to 34. Forty out of a roll call of 79. One majority of the delegates present.

On the motion to expel five refrained from voting. The two delegates from the Southwest side Jewish Branch committed the corrupt act of refusing to vote after they had acknowledged they had been instructed to vote against expulsion.

In his defense, Morgan made the statement that the three majority members of the Grievance Committee had supper together with Steadman and Madeson, the prosecuting attorneys, immediately after the closing of the case; and this these members of the Grievance Committee failed utterly to answer.

County Secretary Larson was given the floor by special privilege and said that Morgan "lied" when he declared that County Organizer Feigh had attempted to work up sentiment against him in the Ward Branches. Then Larson practically admitted the charge by making an attack on what he termed "those wards which were wasting their time on the Morgan case," and especially referring to the 33rd Ward delegates.

In reply to their attack the 33rd Ward declares it also wasted time, on the Carr case, the Wilshire case, the Barnes case, the Florida Land case, the Missouri controversy, and every case that affects the integrity of the Socialist Party.

We further declare that Morgan has never made any private excursions into our Ward, either to visit our Branch meetings or individual members, but has spoken for us at meetings, picnics and dances only at our invitation. We further declare that both our Branch meetings and individual members have been visited by the enemies of Morgan, **who threatened us with expulsion if we did not be "good."**

During the proceedings Morgan was referred to as Mr. Morgan, Tommy Morgan, "T. J." or "P." Morgan, "which is it."

Just before the last roll-call was taken, we were reminded by the chair, who was deciding a point as to whether it took two-thirds to expel or not, "that a majority vote ruled" as "Morgan" well knew, who had himself helped to expel a good many. We will waive the question of honorableness or integrity in such a remark at this stage of the proceedings and challenge anyone to show where Morgan ever assisted in expelling anyone for asserting his right of free speech and a free press on Party affairs.

These are some of the arguments used against Morgan. "Morgan is crazy." "Morgan is jealous." "Morgan has outlived his usefulness." "Morgan wants to rule or ruin." "Morgan wants to kill the Daily." "Morgan wants to kill Milwaukee." "Two capitalist newspapers have a complete file of the 'Provokers.'"

We agree with the prosecuting attorney when he said to the Grievance Committee "that emotionalism never made progress"; and we brand the above statement in regard to Morgan as the worst kind of hysterical emotionalism, and used for no other purpose than to bluff the membership out of expressing their own opinions on Party affairs.

We further declare that if the Party membership repudiate such attempts as the Provoker made to defend the integrity of the Party, then the Capitalist press will not only use the Provoker, but will also use the Daily Socialist and other Socialist papers which are also on file.

We showed in this case that the prosecuting attorneys have no right to make capital of the fact that the Provoker had linked the names of Party officials with the Wilshire and other stock gambling and financial raids upon the Party membership. **If the Capitalist press uses that against the Party then we say that the officials and the wrong doers are to blame and not Morgan.** And we further assert that the linking of these names was justified because of the silence and tame attitude of Party officials in this very serious crisis in the Party.

We showed in this case that the group seeking Morgan's expulsion have among them those who talked much of a Labor Party; those who wrote private letters saying the Socialist Party was a "hissing and a by-word with organized labor"; those whose state organizations do not pledge new members to recognize the class struggle; those who meddled in the Missouri fusionist controversy after it had been adequately settled by the State organization; those who here in Cook County secured the endorsement of a private school of municipal government, after admitting they knew not where the funds to finance this school came from, thereby violating our often expressed principle for public education as against private education; and those who answered Debs' article, "What's the Matter with Chicago" in editorial form without the consent or authority of the organization, and also deliberately misrepresenting the sentiment of Chicago.

We declared in this case, that the end sought by these politicians was to control the next National Convention, and that by their records, as quoted above, such control would be dangerous to the best interests of the Party.

We declared that we believed Morgan when he said his mis-quotation of Hillquit was a typographical error. We believe Morgan because we know his record and refuse to believe his political enemies who say that it was deliberate, because of their records.

We declared in this case that the prosecuting attorney had no right to make capital of Morgan's criticism of Germer, in that it did not hurt Germer, neither was it slanderous; but merely an expressed opinion or speculation as to his future.

We declared in this case that Madeson's statement was ridiculous, when he said, "that if the Capitalists wished to spend $50,000 to wreck the Party, they would adopt the same method as Morgan and the Provoker." That on the contrary **if there are such people in our ranks they must be the stock gamblers, fusionists, etc.**

We showed up the ridiculousness of Khune's statements when he said first, "I admit that things happen in the Party that would not stand twenty-four hours in Germany," and then added, "the organization is sick, therefore Morgan should be expelled."

We denied the correctness of the prosecuting attorney's statement, "that a failure to expel Morgan would be an endorsement of the Provoker," and contested that a failure to expel Morgan would be **a refusal** to endorse **the suppression of free speech on Party affairs.**

We answered the prosecuting attorney's assertion "that the Provoker was a yellow sheet," with the counter assertion that it had proved itself to be a red sheet.

The prosecuting attorney said the Provoker's criticism of the N. E. C. meeting with Brisbane was unfounded and silly. We contend that inasmuch as the N. E. C were together in one city, on account of the Labor Party talk, the fusion talk, and the fact that Brisbane was Hearst's editor, that it looked bad and is no more justified than Gompers and Mitchell wining and dining with Capitalists.

We declared in this case that Morgan's expulsion would practically mean an endorsement of the conspiracies and corruption he helped to expose and caused to be wiped out.

We claimed in this case that free speech, free assemblage and a free press, were absolutely necessary to maintain democracy, and that "publicity" which compelled everyone to say the same thing to the public, which prevented any one from advocating one side of a question in New York and the other side in San Francisco, was absolutely necessary to maintain the integrity of democratic organization.

Now, in spite of all this, in spite of the fact that there is not one single logical reason why Morgan and Carr should have been expelled, still they were expelled, and we ask the Party membership, WHY? What is the reason of it all? What is the object? **We protest to every member of the Socialist Party, the strong men as well as the lay members.** And we ask the entire membership, **is the Socialist Party to be measured, judged, and swayed by the corrupt and treasonable actions of a few officials?**

Have you hard-fisted wage-slaves anything to conceal? If you have not, why do you allow a few politicians to enlist your help in concealing their acts?

Authorized by the 33rd Ward Branch meeting, Dec. 13, 1911.

H. C. Diehl, Chairman,
H. J. LeCren, Secretary.
H. J. LeCren.
Nels Anderson,
J. F. Nelson,
Committee.

Socialism means plenty of food, fuel, clothes, homes and opportunities for all.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST
Issued Weekly

The Co-Operative Printing Company
Address, 5443 Drexel Ave., Chicago
Telephone, Midway 2340

Subscription Price - - - One Dollar Per Year
Six months 50c. Three Months 25c.

Entered at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, as second class matter.

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VOTE IN PARTY ELECTION

The official report of the national office of the Socialist party shows that John M. Work received 22,081 votes for National Secretary, against 6,440 votes for J. O. Bentall.

For members of the National Executive Committee the highest votes were as follows: Berger, 20,614; Harriman, 14,995; Haywood, 11,486; Hillquit, 9,696; Irvine, 9,114; Mrs. O'Hare, 8,913; Spargo, 7,719. The above were elected.

Those receiving the next highest votes are: Barnes, 6,793; Mrs. Simons, 6,778; Duncan, 6,712; Gaylord, 5,442; Thompson, 5,270; Ward, 4,506; Ries, 4,094. The other candidates received comparatively insignificant votes, though there is most excellent material among them. Too many accept the nomination.

No person should be declared elected to any office of importance in the Socialist party who receives less than a majority of all the votes cast. Only two candidates for the N. E. C., Berger and Harriman, out of the seven declared elected, received a majority of the votes cast—though all the votes cast was away below one-third of the total dues paying membership. Neither of the other five elected was the choice of a majority of that less than one-third!

It should be a cause of deep heartsearching on the part of every member of the old N. E. C. that all but one of them were repudiated by the majority refusing to support them further and that two of them were saved plurality defeat only by the fact that the opposition was not well organized and its vote therefore scattered.

It is a noteworthy fact and a very healthy sign that though four out of the five members of the Barnes "investigating" Committee ran for the N. E. C. not one was elected and only one—for quite other reasons—received a vote worth mentioning.

LAUGHTER AND TEARS

J. M. Barnes, deposed National Secretary, recommended himself to the good graces of the comrades as a candidate for the N. E. C., among other things, by declaring that he is "opposed to Christian Socialist propaganda," because he is opposed to all "side lines."

A man guilty of the crimes proven against Barnes would very naturally be opposed to Christian Socialist propaganda, especially considering his exposure by the Christian Socialist which was largely the cause of his dismissal from the office he disgraced.

But alas! it was his undue attention to "side lines" that caused his downfall. Had he been loyal to his legal wife and kept shameful "side lines" out of the national office, he would still be honored by the party. His election to the N. E. C. would have been a new disgrace to the party.

When Barnes takes himself most solemnly he is really amusing.

Hogan also objects to Christian Socialist propaganda. Do such men as Barnes and

Hogan seriously imagine that their objections will in any wise discourage or retard the Christian Socialist propaganda?

"It is to laugh."

It is not to be overlooked that neither Barnes nor Hogan got enough votes on their anti-religious platform to elect them; although Barnes received over 6,000 votes (about 6 per cent of the party membership and a little more than one-fifth of the votes cast) thanks to the fact that most of the comrades had only seen false reports of his case and to the further fact that certain machine leaders felt for some reason compelled to "slate" and support him after he had first wisely declined to run. In spite of the persistent efforts of the "investigating" (?) Committee, the Chicago Grievance Committee and the old N. E. C. to make the party membership believe that Barnes was all right, his vote fell from practically a unanimous vote two years ago for National Secretary to barely one-fifth of the present vote cast for members of the N. E. C. This should be a sufficient warning to some other folks. **It certainly is an honor to the party**; for the comrades have thus shown unmistakably that "whether their national officials are moral or immoral" **does make a great difference to them** when they learn the truth.

"PREMEDITATION AND MALICE"

2134 Flagler Pl.,
Washington, D. C.

Editor Christian Socialist:

Dear Comrade—I beg leave to criticize your editorial published several weeks ago entitled, "Murder Is Murder." In your comparison between industrial accidents and the McNamara case, you neglected to consider premeditation and malice. Let us by all means be fair and not let our enthusiasm for the cause get the better of our judgment. We cannot afford to open ourselves to charges of unfairness. Fraternally yours,

Frank E. Manning.

There was no more "premeditation and malice" on the part of James B. McNamara against the twenty-one workmen, entire strangers to him, who were killed by his dynamite bomb than there was when the Milk Companies of New York, Chicago and every large city murdered thousands of innocent and defenseless babes; than when the coffee, sugar, flour and medicine of every city are adulterated for profit to the destruction of thousands of lives; than when the railroad and manufacturing companies hire lawyers by the year to brow-beat crippled workmen or the widows and children of workmen who are deliberately permitted to be crippled or killed because it is **cheaper to pay lawyers than widows and orphans and cheaper to pay both the lawyer fees and the meager damages that are assessed than to pay for proper safeguards to life and limb.** There was no malice in the McNamara crime at all toward the murdered men. **Their object was exactly the same as that of the greater criminals who murder on a larger scale—namely, PROFIT.** They wanted the money which was paid for such crimes, whereas the greater criminals want the money that is made by their crimes.

The adulteration of foods, drinks and medicines, well-known to be common in America, and the sale of poison meats, etc., is the greatest possible crime. And until such things are commonly regarded as **wholesale murder** of the most heinous character and **commonly punished** as the supreme offense, it is foolishness to hope for an awakened social conscience and a helpful social revolution.

The McNamaras may have been influenced by fanatical, mistaken zeal for the labor cause. In that case their crime—morally speaking—was infinitely more excusable than the greedy people who poison and cripple and murder by wholesale **"for revenue only."**

Let us face the truth and dare proclaim it.

"A VICIOUS PIECE OF CLAPTRAP"

(Sane words from the Chicago Tribune.)

The story that President Gompers stood on the flag to show his contempt for it at a radical labor meeting in California will not be believed by any sensible American until it is proved beyond a doubt as to all its circumstances. Mr. Gompers is not a fool. Moreover, Mr. Gompers is yet to be shown to be lacking in patriotism. Both would have to be true if this yarn is true as given out.

Mr. Gompers may have stood on the flag, which probably was used, tactlessly, for decoration in such way that speakers had to take their places on it addressing the audience. But that this was worse than inadvertence is most improbable.

There is a certain type of bigoted patriotism or jingoism in both the army and the navy which seems to think itself the special guardian of patriotism and patriotic sentiment. This flag story seems to have got its color from some such source. Men of this type, however sincere they may be, are not real friends of their service and do more harm than good. If they could acquire a little common sense they would know that their spirit will not be approved by a people traditionally jealous of military establishments.

The story, moreover, is especially untimely now. Mr. Gompers has been severely criticised for his course prior to the McNamara trial. The arrest and prosecution and confession of these men have brought about something like a crisis in the history of union labor. Public opinion should keep cool, and sane, and just. It would be an injury to the whole nation if, whatever the outcome of the proceedings initiated against the McNamaras, demagogic passion, class prejudice, and reaction should be permitted to turn the public conscience against legitimate union labor and the cause of the wage earner's advancement.

Mr. Gompers declares that neither he nor Kelly stood on the flag, which was draped around and over the edges of the table, but not on the top of it. The crowd was so great that the speakers could not be seen on the low platfrom, and the people demanded that they "stand on the table," which they did. If in the haste and excitement of a great meeting they had thoughtlessly stood on the flag used to cover a table intended for the speakers' notes, and not for a platform, how could any intelligent person honestly object? Is the American flag a fetish, like the Chinese Joss? Is it more sacred than God's **land**, which those who hypocritically howl about "patriotism" have stolen from God's people? Is it more sacred than God's poor, who are robbed by the million beneath its folds every day?

Superstition reaches its limit when a flag, whether the red flag of Socialism, or the emblem of any country, becomes an idol; and hypocrisy reaches its limit when a rancorous appeal is made to such ignorant superstition.

The American flag will always be sacred in the true sense, because of the ideals it represents and the blood that has been shed for those ideals. But for capitalist grafters and professional man-killers to attempt the blackening of labor's character and the thwarting of labor's purposes by the cry of "contempt for the flag," will not greatly move intelligent people who are real patriots. The redoubtable officials of Uncle Sam's $13 a month hirelings are peeved because labor objects to having men trained to kill each other in the interests of capitalism; nevertheless the contempt for professional murderers, or would-be murderers, who compose the standing armies of all countries, whether their uniforms be blue, red, yellow or brown, is increasing tremendously all over the earth. No honest sentiment for international peace can grow without a corresponding decrease of respect for professional soldiers.

The volunteer soldier goes to the front in a dangerous emergency, risking his life for a cause that is dear to his heart. The soldier of the regular army is generally there under the mistaken notion that he will have an easy time and a chance to enjoy extensive travel. And the dreary, hopeless monotony of the life tempts him to long for the excitement of a bloody war for mere adventure.

As to the flag. The red flag is the symbol of international brotherhood; and after Socialism has won the world, each nation will have its own flag, perhaps also each department of industry, and the Stars and Stripes will continue to float in greater honor and with a sublimer meaning than ever over what may then be truly called "the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

Let the nations know, however, that Socialists are opposed to standing armies, professional man-killers, and to war. They do not talk "peace" and at the same time glorify the officials and machinery of war. And the whole labor movement of America and the world is rapidly approaching the same state of mind.

Yet this does not signify that they would lie cravenly down in a revolutionary crisis and permit the greedy, relentless tyrants to ride rough-shod upon their liberties. While they absolutely oppose all wars for "trade" and for "glory," they might, if crowded too far, prove the mightiest soldiers for real **freedom** that the world has ever known. Yet we pray that no such emergency may ever be forced upon us.

It is the working people who feed, clothe and pay the soldiers of the regular army—sometime they will get tired of being murdered by them and will entirely refuse longer to support them. God speed the day!

The Live Ones

By Mrs. Ella Carr

Dear Comrades:

During this below zero weather, when we find it hard to keep warm in a steam-heated office, our hearts ache for our brothers and sisters and the little children all around the globe who are suffering terrible hunger and cold and mental and soul-agony that is driving numbers of them insane. We cannot help but cry out, How long, Oh how long, must this tidal wave of human anguish last that envelops the earth! There are millions of famine and plague-stricken in India; millions in Russia struggling with death because of crop failures; millions in England on the verge of starvation. And how heart-rending that in our own great land of plenty, millions more must suffer and die in sight of bursting store-houses of food. **God pity us, that we are so long in getting the truth to the people.** How utterly charity fails to solve this world-problem of want! God is solving the problem in the only sane, rational way. He hears the cry of pain of each one of His own suffering children. **He is answering in a way that will end it all forever,** as soon as they learn the necessary lesson.

But He needs you and me to help Him. Will we do it? Oh, that He may put His ETERNAL MUST into our souls NOW so that we shall quit doing the useless things and value our moments golden for only that work that counts and is worth while. **Are we doing Our Best?** God expects it of us, and we cannot excuse ourselves with anything less. Let us find out each for himself what our best is and do it. Otherwise we must suffer upon us the blood of our starving, freezing, dying brothers and sisters. Are we seeking to save ourselves? **At such times as these we should forget self.** Are we in pain because some of our wants are not supplied? Oh, Comrades, friends, what matters it whether we suffer any lack or not, so long as millions suffer ten thousand fold more than we?

Let our ideals go unfilled now; nothing matters much, but the one thing for us to do is to throw ourselves into this mighty work of the greatest revolution of the ages. Yes, and let us not fear to "lose our lives," if we would save ourselves as our Master has taught us by His own example. May we serve, **serve,** and in the great joy of this service forget our petty wants, while we glory in the great good our service will bring to the children of men. May God help us to give ourselves a "living sacrifive"—time, talents, money, everything. **The Cause is worthy of Our Best.**

Many of you, new readers, are needed in our ranks. How many of you will volunteer? It is with reverence we take off our hats to the thousands of Comrades who have already given their best to bring our movement to its present state of progress. It was necessary for them to do as they did. It is just as necessary for us to go on with the work. They toiled and sacrificed much with their hopes in their own breasts unrealized. We toil now with the inspiration of the fruits of their labors. May it stir us to mighty enthusiasm and toil to hasten the long-looked for Victory!

We are glad to tell you that our last week's receipts were the very best ever in the history of the paper. And since we have decided to continue our December offer through January **we hope this will encourage all of you to make more efforts this month. We especially urge all who have not yet responded to do so.** We have had a great splendid shower of subs and it just makes us eager for more.

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In the same mail were two lists of fourteen yearly subs. One was from Comrade C. H. Owen, a member of our Chicago Fellowship, and the other was from Comrade S.

C. Stair of Oklahoma. Comrade Owen wrote us that ten of his list had been secured that day and five of them over the phone after he returned from work. On his list were five ministers also. Comrade Stair wrote, "Times are so pressing I have had lots of work to get up this list. People here are in destitute circumstances." We cannot help but wonder how much bigger Comrade Owen's list would have been had he worked as hard as his Oklahoma Comrade. We know what a splendid worker Comrade Owen is and perhaps his list next time will be bigger. But we certainly appreciate the hard work and time many give to getting readers for our paper.

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PREMIUM BOOKS

Comrade J. E. Van Wye of Ohio, has earned a number of our premium books and he says: "In this way we are trying to get a library for our Christian Socialist Fellowship. You still have the opportunity to get these premiums. Follow this Comrade's example.

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Comrade Frank Hamblen of Enterprise, Oregon, also writes that their local has presented the premium books they earned to the public library and that the local papers gave a notice of the same.

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SOME DONATIONS

A Comrade from New York state, who tells us not to use his name, sent five dollars "As a little boost to start off the New Year." Thank you Comrade, may others boost also. There is no limit to the good work this paper can and will do, as its funds permit.

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Many thanks Comrade Miley, your bouquets are all appreciated and will help us all to do better work.

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SHARE OF STOCK

Comrade Alson A. Smith of California, bought one share of stock and paid five dollars in response to the Markham plea. We have more stock yet unsold and want you to come into our company and help us make it great. Shares are $10 each.

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BIG LIST OF SUBS

A friend from Pennsylvania sent a check for $49.70 for a big list of subs and sub cards and a book order.

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OUR EPISCOPAL SPECIAL

We need more funds to send the Episcopal Special to the Episcopal ministers of the United States and Canada. Surely our Episcopal Comrades will see to it that enough money is sent in for this purpose. We have mailed out a number already and are getting subscriptions in response from some of the Episcopal ministers.

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Rev. Evore Evans of Pennsylvania, writes: "You have not sent forth more convincing campaign matter than the Episcopal Special." He ordered a bundle of them.

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Comrade Alex. U. McDonnell of Canada, responded to the Markham plea with four dollars and Comrade N. L. Lloyd of California, sent one dollar which is to be his weekly contribution.

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Comrade S. Hoxie of Illinois, made us glad again with another donation. We shall apply it on this fund where it is needed.

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HOUSE TO HOUSE CANVASS

Comrade Mrs. E. H. Rowland of Oregon, writes: "I am making a house to house canvass for the purpose of distributing Socialist literature. I find that the **Christian Socialist** is accepted the most readily of anything I have offered."

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WHAT THEY SAY

"I love the **Christian Socialist** for it has given me thought and ideas of the true Christian life I never had before."
J. R. Underwood, Kansas.

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"Your paper gets better every issue. It is a power."
P. E. Edwards, Missouri.

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"We think the **C. S.** is the greatest paper on earth today. I have taken it four years and find it the greatest help to live a Christian life."
S. L. Brown, Oklahoma.

International Sunday School Lessons

By Rev. Wm. A. Presser, Pastor Ames M. E. Church, 4648
Second Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

LESSON FOR JANUARY 21

The Birth of Jesus—Luke 2:1-20

GOLDEN TEXT: For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ the Lord.—Luke 2:11.

Historical Statement

Judging from the best available historical data, the Christ Child was born into the world about 1915 years ago. Yes, but where, and how, and what of it? Luke answers our questions in this wise: Joseph and Mary, in answer to an arbitrary decree of Caesar Augustus, the then ruling monarch of the world, that all the inhabitants of the earth should betake themselves to the places of their nativity to be enrolled for taxation, went up from Nazareth in Galilee to Bethlehem in Judea for that purpose. The journey was long, tedious, and dangerous for any one, but especially for Mary, being great with child. When the tired couple arrived in the town of their birth, perhaps because of the crowded condition of the town and their late arrival, or for lack of necessary funds to meet advanced prices for first class quarters, or of Mary's condition, they could find no accommodations in private homes or public inns. They were obliged to turn aside and take lodgings in a stable with cattle. While resting in this humble and undesirable place, probably the first night, hastened no doubt by the fatigue of the journey, Mary gave birth to her precious baby. Here she wrapped him in such clothes as were available for the occasion and cradled him in a manger. Thus Jesus was born. But, adds the evangelist, his birth was heralded to shepherds on neighboring hills and the child was declared destined to be unto them a Savior, the Anointed of God and the Leader and Master of men.

This simple narration is both fact and prophecy. Because Jesus was born in a manger, let us not fall into the heresy of believing that every mother must be treated as Mary was treated and that every child is to be born as Jesus was born. It is not a sanction of this kind of motherhood nor of this kind of childhood; it is a Divine protest against both. He came to deliver motherhood and childhood from the very conditions from which he and his mother suffered.

The Rights of Motherhood

Shall millions of poor mothers be compelled, like Mary, into a long, arduous, and dangerous journey, at the command and to conserve the interests of an arbitrary ruling monster, on the verge of giving birth to their offspring? Shall they be forced, by economic conditions, to labor at body-killing work in home, shop, factory and mills up to within a week, oftentimes within a few hours, and sometimes up to the very moment of deliverance? Must it be left to the "sacred interests of trade" and not the sacredness of motherhood and the future wellbeing of the human race, to force pregnant women from the shop to the home? Shall they, for lack of money or because of congested conditions, be forced from country villages into city slums and tenements where the pure sunlight and fresh air are shut out from them and their babies—must they be put in stables with cattle because they are too poor to buy a room in an inn? Shall they be compelled to wrap their precious, helpless, innocent, new born infants, more dear to them than their life, in rags, feed them at an empty or poisonous breast and cradle them on the pitiless floor amid filth and squalor? Shall human mothers be forced to conceive, bear, deliver, house, and feed their young under infinitely worse conditions than many horse-mothers, cow-mothers, and even dog-mothers? Shall the Eves of the world, the mothers of human society, be prostituted and their children made the companions of cattle and vermin?

You answer, No; in the name of God and Humanity, a thousand times, No! But do you know, dear reader, that a little unbiased investigation and study will reveal to you that Mary and her babe are duplicated by the thousands in our midst; that, in many cases, human mothers are treated worse than thousands of animal mothers; that they have practically no rights? And the only reason for the difference is that, under the present social order, **animals cost money and women cost nothing.** It is more profitable to care tenderly for young-bearing animals than for child-bearing mothers. We act as though it matters nothing that the race loses, that unborn future generations suffer, that mankind deteriorates by our treatment of mothers, so long as we do not lose hard cash.

But mothers have rights and they are sacred and inalienable, and the day is coming when they will be recognized and honored. The rights of motherhood begin when the mother-to-be is born. The mother nature and mother function in society are such as demand that she be permitted to remain in the home, enjoy childhood, and receive such physical, mental, and spiritual training as shall qualify her for her mission. She is the mother of all living, the guardian of the race, the trainer of the husbands and wives of future homes, and citizens of the state. Upon her devolves nine-tenths of the wellbeing of society. Lincoln repeatedly said, **"All that I am I owe to my angel mother." This is the testimony of the race.** If, therefore, we are to have splendid offspring, **we must protect the mothers and the mothers-to-be against grinding toil, soul-racking care and stable environments.** We must give human motherhood more consideration and better treatment than that now received by the best groomed animal-mothers.

"Honor they mother" is a Divine command, as binding upon the state as upon the individual. This obligation cannot be fully discharged by evanescent sentiment, pleasing platitudes, tipping the hat or the surrender of a street car seat. **Honoring mother in any adequate sense demands that society shall protect the mothers-to-be from excessive manual toil and train them to fittingly perform their race functions; that mothers shall be kept at home with their children, properly housed and provided with all the necessary material comforts beyond the shadow of oppressive anxiety; and that widowed mothers be pensioned that they may give themselves to the proper training of their fatherless children and not be obliged to leave them to shift for themselves in their shacks or to the tender mercies of neighbors or unprotected on the streets, or, far worse than all, give them to "Homes" while they go out into a cold pitiless competitive commercial world to slave themselves away in an almost vain attempt to eke out an honest and adequate existence.**

The proper place for a mother, husbanded or widowed, is in a secure home with her children, and the best place in all the world for children is in well-ordered homes with their mothers. To assist in keeping the Queens of the home on their thrones is to obey the Divine decree to honor mother. The state that refuses to do this, that neglects its mothers, will exist long enough to bitterly regret it.

The Rights of Childhood

The Christ Child was born in a stable amid cattle, wrapped in rags and cradled in a manger! Was that a fitting place for a child, a human being made in the image of God with infinite possibilities coiled up in his soul, to be born? Does this represent the rights of childhood? Shall innocent, helpless children be born, like Moses, under an arbitrary edict of death? Shall they be born, like Jesus, in hovels, modern slums and tenements, to be wrapped in rags and nursed at the breasts of poverty? Shall they be born to be denied a happy childhood, healthful environment, and proper education? Shall they be brought into the world to be commercialized, doomed to child-labor and to have their little bodies and souls ground up into dollars in the mills of mammon? Are these the rights of childhood, the things for which children are born into the world? It is sad to relate that these things constitute about all the "rights" millions of modern children have.

According to the latest mortality statistics issued by our nation nearly a half million (411,374) children, 9 years of age and under, die in our country per annum, and the rate is increasing. The number is exclusive of premature births and still borns. This means, if it means anything, that this number of children are born under a death sentence as arbitrary and cruel as that issued by Pharaoh to murder all Hebrew male children at birth. It means that 411,374 of our precious babes are born fore-doomed, not by a Divine fiat, but by the decree of our heartless commercial social order, to die in infancy and early childhood. It means that the only right these babies have is to writhe in pain and die young. **Poverty, ignorance and greed for profits, not God, kill most of our little ones.**

But this is not all. Out of the number that do survive about 5,000,000 of them, under the age of sixteen, are forced into wage slavery either to assist the parents in earning a livelihood or to maintain the family. This robs them of a proper chance of physical,